Volume XCII No. 10 May 22, 1970 40 cents

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THE SUN NEVER SETS ON THE AMERICAN EMPIRE: Why we are not getting out of S.E. Asia

Michael T. Klare

ISPAPER NEV

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

Elizabeth Minot Graves

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NEWS & VIEWS

Our Sharpeville

The Populist prejudices of Spiro Agnew are as scary as the surface level of his observations. But on one crucial detail Agnew does have a point: loose language can indeed inflame, and never more so than at the moment.

The trouble with Agnew is that he espies the wrong inflamers. He singles out the President of Yale and the Mayor of New York, and he's totally oblivious to the possibility that culpability might belong instead to the President and Vice President of the United States.

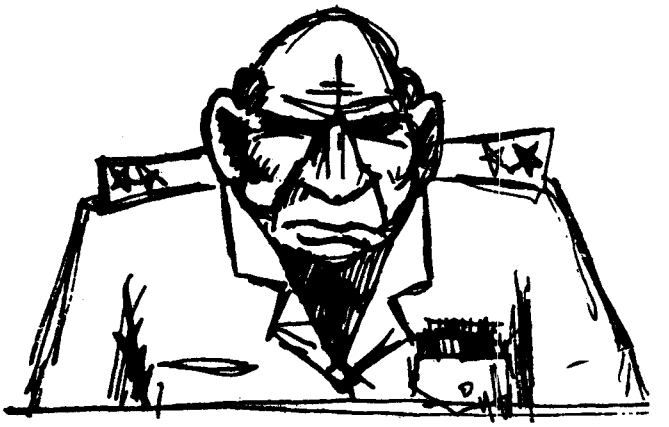
Thus it is all right for Agnew himself to characterize dissident students as "the criminal left that belongs not in a dormitory, but in a penitentiary." And it's all right for Richard Nixon to brand students as "bums."

But for Kingman Brewster to speak about the difficulty of black revolutionaries to obtain a fair trial, or for John Lindsay to state admiration for those unwilling to serve in Vietnam (though Lindsay subsequently qualified his remarks almost out of existence), is to invite almighty wrath.

But what of Messrs. Nixon and Agnew? Does some divine indulgence allow them to say and do anything, with no worry or fear of repercussions? No sir.

What we're saying is that Brewster and Lindsay haven't inflamed the campuses, but Nixon and Agnew damn well have, with deeds as well as language. Indeed, they may even be inflaming the police and soldiers sent onto campuses to keep the peace.

It would be interesting, for instance, to know if the National Guardsmen peering May 4 along the sights of their M-1s in Kent, Ohio, saw Kent State students or the "criminal left" and "bums." If the latter, as might be, the criminal gunning down of the students is easier to understand and even more sickening to contemplate.



"We ran out of tear gas."

Vatican's Second Front

An intriguing thought is proffered in *L'Actualité*, Paris: that the Vatican is moving by design into the void caused by the displacement of the U.S. as Latin America's chief provider and influence.

Author Simon Spivac argues from Vatican consciousness that Latin America could be "the continent of the future" and Vatican willingness to gamble "its best, if not its last card . . . to make an entire continent in its own image."

The stakes are not survival so much as reclaimed moral authority, according to Spivac. A successful effort now in Latin America is seen making "a new place" for the Holy See in the world of the year 2000.

The principal indicator of this Vatican diplomacy is the activation and redirection of Vatican wealth. Large blocks of stocks (the Holy See's 30 percent share of an Italian automobile manufacturer, its 30 percent share of the Immobiliare conglomerate) have been sold and proceeds reportedly are being disbursed in aid and unsecured loans to Latin America.

Sums are such as to bring Vatican aid to the Third World into comparison with France's. France provides $685 million in aid annually, largely to Africa. Vatican aid is placed at $400 million.

Spivac speculates that the U.S. "can only be pleased at Vatican intervention in an area it no longer wishes to support," since the Vatican is fully as anti-Communist as itself. But he cautions against easy assumptions on the part of Americans. So many churchmen are in revolt against the old order, which U.S. hegemony has helped maintain, that many surprises are in store. No doubt there.

Spivac's article is carried in the May *Atlas* under the headline, THE VATICAN AS A WORLD POWER. A whimsical kicker asks: *Will tomorrow's slogan in Latin America be 'Vatican Go Home!'?*

The-Go-To-Hell School

Early responses from Minneapolis churches to the city's request for contributions in lieu of taxes provided no strong indication that Catholic civic impulses have been noticeably upgraded, or that Catholic sensitivities have markedly sophisticated themselves.

Father Robert Vashro, pastor of St. Kevin's parish, responded that on the day that Minneapolis and the state government decide to provide aid to Catholic schools he will deliver a check to the City Council, "not one minute before."

Father Eugene Roden, pastor of St. Anthony's, said, "Perhaps, to the contrary, the city government should compensate the church for its considerable contribution" in educating children.

Brother Joseph Wegesin, FSC, of De La Salle High, countered the request by asking the city "to make a contribution to our De La Salle excellence campaign." Again the rationale was linked to "tax saving" provided by Catholic schools.

There is, of course, an element of fact in the "tax saving" claim, though, we suspect, not nearly so much as its articulators believe.

That is beside the point, however. What is not beside the point is that the "tax saving" argument is the most tendentious of rationales in the school-finances debate and ultimately the weakest—for the simple reason that, fairly or unfairly, it smacks too easily of blackmail.

'You aid our schools or we'll inundate yours and shoot up your tax rate.' . . . Spelled out or not, that's the threat. Catholic educators should be above its explicit or implicit use.

Burger's Bungle

Unable to get the White House phone after the President's April 30 Cambodia speech, Chief Justice Warren Burger hurried over with a hand-written note which, according to the *Times*, "pleased" the President.

It was, for all practical purposes, the same sort of personal gesture which got Abe Fortas in trouble *vis à vis* Lyndon Johnson, and which helped force his resignation from the Supreme Court.

Apart from that, however, one wonders whether the Burger action has not effectively precluded the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court from any participation in the debate taking shape on the constitutional legitimacy of Presidential wars. It would seem so.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

A Pain in the Ad

Bayville, N.Y.

To the Editors: Publishers are wonderful people. Publishers' advertising writers are the nicest of all. Publishers do everything they can for their authors. They don't, however, always show them copy for ads or book jackets.

And, honestly, having over a period of time begged Macmillan, please, to put out at least one little ad for my novel, or possibly two, in *Commonweal* and *NCR* if possible, it is ungrateful of me, isn't it, to complain?

But, truly, my novel, *Naked I Leave*, is not well represented by the ad which appeared in *Commonweal* May 15. "Truth in advertising" obliges me to say it: the themes selected by the ad man are not those of my novel. I despise that ad, loving as I do the ad man. My book is about spirit, that rarest of American realities, and what, to do him justice, can the art of advertising do with that?

MICHAEL NOVAK

Dire Prophecies Fulfilled

Urbana, Ill.

To the Editors: Robert Terrell ["Up From Uncle Tomism," April 3] couldn't have foreseen how quickly his prophecy of further repression for black college students would be fulfilled.

The *Washington Post* recently reported that in early February 894 black students at Mississippi Valley State College were arrested for "blocking a road" following a boycott of classes which was reported to be 95 percent effective. At issue was a list of thirty demands for such things as more academic scholarships, student government control of the student-generated fund, and installation of coin-operated laundries.

Two aspects of the mass-arrest—the largest in the nation's history according

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COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016 MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1970 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc. US and Canada, $12 a year. Foreign, $14. Single copies, 40¢

KENT AND CAMBODIA

President Nixon and Vice President Agnew cannot wash their hands of responsibility in the death of the four students at Kent State, despite Mr. Nixon's attempts to confuse the issue at his televised news conference. The immediate cause of the Ohio tragedy was panic, bad training and incredibly poor leadership on the part of the National Guard; the more remote but nonetheless real cause was the exacerbation of public opinion about campus anti-war demonstrations to which Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew have so notably contributed. The four students were not killed because they were engaged in illegal acts of dissent, for they were not; even for those who threw stones, would bullets be an appropriate rejoinder? No, the Kent four were killed because the Guard saw the demonstrators as Nixon's "bums" and Agnew's "rotten apples." Even now it is not clear if Mr. Nixon is aware of the monstrousness of what happened at Kent or even of its impact on campus sentiment all over the country; to say coolly that "when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy," as he did in the immediate aftermath of the incident, is simply to turn things around and place the blame for the shooting on the victims themselves; nothing the President said at his later TV press conference could erase the effect of that first statement on campus and other public opinion. When Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel told the President that the Administration was alienating youth, it no doubt took some political courage, but he was only saying what everyone else knows. Mr. Nixon is well on his way to being as detested on campus as LBJ, and the time may not be so far off when student demonstrations will make him as much a Prisoner in the White House as Lyndon Johnson was. No matter what the immediate future, there is no doubt that the specter of Kent State will haunt the Administration for a long time to come.

If the President's relationship with students is bad, his standing with Congress is little better, and his press conference remarks will not alter this. Despite honeyed words, Congressional leaders are not likely to lose their sense of shock at what Mr. Nixon did and the way he did it. Acting without the consent of Congress and indeed against the advice of many, including a large majority of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Nixon took a step many powerful Congressmen regard as an ill-considered and ill-advised gamble at best, and these men have long memories.

Mr. Nixon has always been a man of many moods, and the role he

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played at his after-the-fact televised news conference of a concerned and conciliatory statesman was in sharp contrast with the Nixon who announced the Cambodia forays. That Nixon was the old familiar political pitchman—the mood jingoistic, the method of argumentation patronizingly simplistic, the rhetoric borrowed from the American Legion. All this was to be expected. But the puzzling question remains: what happened between Monday, April 20, when Mr. Nixon told the nation he saw a just peace in sight and announced the withdrawal of 150,000 troops, and the following Monday when he decided to enlarge the war? One guesstimate making the rounds is that his withdrawal plans so angered top Pentagon brass that they threatened a public confrontation unless he accepted their long-cherished plans to invade Cambodia—a speculation which would mean, if true, that we are already in the hands of the generals. In any case, as James Reston of the *New York Times* has suggested, the picture that emerges from these hectic days is that of a Chief Executive who does not know his own mind and who vacillates wildly from day-to-day and week-to-week—a worrisome prospect for an already worried nation, surely.

The inescapable fact is that Mr. Nixon has taken a very large gamble, even if we turn out to be lucky enough not to reap all the potential consequences. In enlarging the war to include Cambodia, Mr. Nixon has not only turned his back on his campaign promises but has gone further in extending the war than his predecessor ever did. Promising to shorten the war by enlarging it and to protect American lives by widening the battle, the President put the United States again in the position of violating the Geneva agreement and international law. Even in terms of presidential politics Mr. Nixon has indulged in a desperate gamble: according to a Gallup Poll taken before the event, 58 percent of the American people opposed sending troops into Cambodia; if no decisive results are achieved and North Vietnam strikes back, popular sentiment is likely to polarize as heavily against President Nixon as it previously did against Mr. Johnson.

It may be that what the President has done in striking against Cambodia will bring short-term gains, but regardless of the outcome, Mr. Nixon has been guilty of a rash action with the gravest implications for the future. The sad fact is that he is essentially an unconverted hawk, and like an unrepentant alcoholic he is always tempted to just one more pull on the old escalation bottle. President Nixon, it seems, has still not learned the essential lesson of Indochina: there can be no decisive military victory but only a political settlement—which involves exactly what he is unwilling to grant, an end to the Administration's subservience to General Thieu. It is Mr. Nixon's failure to press for this kind of broad political settlement that is at the root of the present national crisis.

A TIME TO SPEAK

The moral implications of the Cambodian invasion are clear enough, so it is edifying to note the promptness with which some religious leaders have met their responsibilities as molders of the public conscience. Father Hesburgh's reminder that "all of us want to be loyal and patriotic—but we also want to be morally clean," and Cardinal Cushing's declaration that "we cannot have peace in the street and on the campus until we have peace in Southeast Asia," were especially noteworthy. So, too, the statement of officials of the World Council of Churches.

By luckless timing, the U.S. Bishops held their semi-annual meeting the week before the Cambodian crisis exploded, so the last message of record from the Bishops as a body to President Nixon is one of thanks for his "historic statement" announcing establishment of a commission to study ways the government might provide financial assistance to private and parochial schools. It is, under the circumstances, an especially embarrassing message which cries badly for supercedence.

The president of the Sodality at Holy Cross College has addressed an open letter to the Bishops deploring their "failure" to denounce the new violence which the U.S. has visited on Southeast Asia and urging them to condemn "as a group" the American aggression. It is a point of particular urgency. Though the International Affairs Committee of the U.S. Catholic Conference has spoken out on the Cambodian crisis, that does not excuse the Bishops from acting as a body. The Bishops' moral credibility has suffered over Vietnam; if they let the Cambodian issue await their fall meeting, they will find themselves alienated from many more sensitive communicants.

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The Bishops Open The New Season

In some ways the U.S. bishops at their April meetings resemble a major league club in spring training. Everyone from the cardinals down to the latest addition to the episcopal team is confident that *this* is the year.

In this season of promises the finding of hard news is a test of ingenuity. On the second day of the three-day meeting Ted Fiske of the *New York Times* filed his story on the problems of clerical tailors in selling robes and jeweled crosses to bishops who were becoming concerned about their public image. Other journalists used similar tactics to spare their readers the story of ecumenical plodding selected by the bishops' information service as the news of that day.

Maybe it was San Francisco or the spring weather, but somehow this April there was more than a hint that the

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old order was passing away and that it just might be a promising new season for the hierarchy. The abortion statement which had been reported earlier as a several-megaton blast at state legislatures and abortion reform turned out to be a conventional grenade. The ten-man episcopal liaison committee which had long served as a time-consuming and energy-diluting buffer protecting the larger body of bishops from proposals presented by independent organizations began to emerge as a semi-respectable conveyor of ideas and recommendations to the assembly. And the decision to spend one day in regional meetings and also to vote during those meetings meant that rank-and-file bishops had some say in the absence of the higher ranking opinion-formers who in the past have dominated the assembly.

Behind the scenes there was a piece of clerical brinkmanship which helped to explain why the bishops spent several hours considering issues raised by priests' groups in contrast to the previous meeting when the President of the National Federation of Priests Councils had waited three hours outside the assembly door before being granted a five-minute presentation. When a few weeks earlier the 37,000-member Federation with its reputation as a quietly liberal, study-oriented organization sent a quasi-ultimatum to Pope Paul, urging him to personally consider the case of the last nineteen survivors in the O'Boyle vs. Clergy conflict in Washington or else face the consequences of a nationally organized clergy protest in the U.S., there were few observers who expected a serious reaction in Rome. But then a concerned U.S. hierarchy informed the Vatican that over fifty of their Priests' Senates had pledged to be present in Chicago for an emergency meeting to consider specific forms of protest around the nation until such time as the Pope responded. Forty-eight hours before the deadline cited by the Federation a staff member of the Apostolic Delegation hand-delivered to the priest-leadership a letter stating that the Pope was in the process of personally responding to the problem.

It was admittedly a small victory. Pope Paul can presumably reply to the priests in the style of his earlier public letter to Cardinal O'Boyle exhorting all involved to return to unity, thus placing the pressure back on the priest allies. But the display of muscle obviously impressed the U.S. bishops who had been promised a somewhat similar confrontation from the People's Coalition, an ad hoc federation of lay and clergy groups in 12 U.S. cities who had urged the bishops to accelerate efforts toward some type of national assembly involving laity and clergy or else the coalition would consider convening such an assembly on its own.

Immediate fringe benefit of the collection pressure was a definite speed-up of efforts to establish a representative National Pastoral Council according to principles suggested by the National Association of Laymen. The five-year period announced by the bishops last November as necessary to prepare the council was nervously denied, and a pledge made that a steering committee of bishops, priests and laity would begin hearings within two weeks.

There were other signs of a spring thaw. When Bishop Mugavero's allegedly high priority committee with its project of launching a $50-million crusade against domestic poverty failed to provide an adequate base for fund raising, it was previously low-influence bishops like Joseph Bernardin who pushed through the assembly a prestige-saving decision to begin raising the money by a one-Sunday-a-year national collection. The downplay of the official statement expected at episcopal meetings (most bishops could not even recall the title, *Christians in Our Times*) could be a sign that in the future the U.S. church and the bishops themselves may be spared last-minute endorsement of the views of the episcopal cliques who prepare such statements.

A final hopeful sign was that the meeting ended with the unusual but possibly precedent-establishing event of almost simultaneous press conferences by episcopal and lay leaders. Cardinal Dearden repeated his opening day remarks about a national pastoral council as producing shared responsibility in the church with ultimate decisions reserved for the bishops. National Association of Laymen President William Caldwell who had been working closely with bishops before and during the meeting said that Dearden's statement had not gone far enough. "Shared responsibility for the laity that doesn't include decision-making would only mean more of that empty and meaningless institutionalism responsible for the credibility gap in the church today."

Maybe the November meeting of the bishops and subsequent episcopal meetings will be like every other November when a second-division finish and unfulfilled promises are so easily explained away. But at least in the spring the thought occurs: *this* could be the year. Well, maybe . . .

JOSEPH O'DONOGHUE

(Joseph O'Donoghue teaches organizational theory and development in the Sociology Department at Hofstra University.)

NEXT WEEK

HENRY NOUWEN writes about the kind of Christian leadership that is needed for the future:

"All over, Christian leaders have become more and more aware of the need for more specific training and formation. This need is realistic and the desire for more professionalism is understandable, but the danger exists that instead of making man free to let the spirit grow, the coming minister will entangle himself in the complicated ropes of his so-called competence and use his specialism as an excuse to avoid the much more difficult challenge to be a compassionate man."

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The Last Train For Peaceful Politics

Like night winds in a haunted house, the most familiar phrases take on new, terrible meanings these days. Sunday evening, staccato voice from the radio: "Washington is back to normal after the massive anti-war protest there this weekend." Back to normal, back to normal, back to normal. . . . It echoes ominously.

Most of the students are fiercely determined to avoid violence. Their determination carried the day at New Haven. It carried the day in Washington. The newspapers welcome this return to "orderly processes" and "established political mechanisms." Everyone is relieved.

The students may be pardoned if they receive the words of praise with bitterness. They know very well that there is yet no proof the demonstrations in New Haven and Washington, for all their non-violence, can be termed successes. They know very well that it was not the "established political mechanisms" but the panic of a National Guard detail and the violent deaths of four young people which again stirred the lazy American consciousness. It would be a mistake to believe that students have firmly committed themselves to "orderly processes"; or that orderly processes have shown themselves worthy of the students' commitment.

The day before the march on Washington, Adam Walinsky begged a New York teach-in audience to dedicate the next few weeks to straight political action against the war. If the bright, young former aide to Robert Kennedy had been Spiro Agnew addressing the American Civil Liberties Union, he couldn't have received a cooler reception. The current student hope seemed to be a general strike. Their spokesmen talked of an American May like the French May of 1968, and the few of us who actually witnessed those remarkable events in France could only mutter at this will-o'-the-wisp-notion. Some of the students, of course, are sheer fantasists —is that to be wondered at in Richard Nixon's America—but those I spoke with were no more wild-eyed, no more "romantic," to use one of the favorite putdown terms of official ideologues, than Mr. Walinsky himself. For the sad fact remains that the Hatfield-McGovern proposal, the most likely anti-war item in the arsenal of straight political action, has no more chance of passing Congress than the general strike has of springing full-grown from the head of George Meany. Walinsky could only argue, and not very well, that his suggestion probably wouldn't work, but what is the alternative? Not much of an answer when the students' implicit question was: our suggestion probably won't work but what is the alternative?

Many students, of course, *are* returning to traditional political action, Despite everything, they are shearing their hair ("Trim your fleece for peace"), doing research, pounding pavements and pushing doorbells, lobbying in Washington, planning autumn participation in Congressional campaigns. But lectures on the subject, whether of praise or admonishment, could not be more misdirected. The responsibility for making regular political processes operate does not rest with student militants. It rests with all the Congressional leaders who are playing it cagey, waiting till the results are in before coming out fighting on the Cambodian invasion. It rests with the Democratic party, which swings like a weathervane on the Vietnam issue. It rests with the TV networks: why should students quietly work the precincts when the President can preempt television time three evenings in two weeks and NBC and CBS refuse equal time for an opposition rejoinder? Why should students look to a Congressional restriction on Vietnam spending which has little chance of passing, when a Congressional restriction on arms shipments to Greece which did pass, was then coolly circumvented by Pentagon officials, who doubled the amount of arms sent the Athens dictatorship? Is anyone creating a furor about that? Have any Congressional leaders shown the same fervor in exposing the embarrassing contradictions of Administration foreign policy that they displayed in the Haynsworth and Carswell affairs? The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that last Great White Hope, filed into the White House to ask Mr. Nixon a few pointed questions. Mr. Nixon did not answer very well. The Committee filed out. The students, to judge from the remarks made to Walinsky, were not impressed.

A young man in Washington told a radio correspondent that he was going to march and listen to a lot of talk about revolution; he didn't know whether he believed in any of that angry rhetoric, but what could he do? The rhetoric was there all right. As the war gets wider the speeches get worse. Now they all begin with a ritual slogan and response; and perhaps some one of those Catholic-trained radicals will move to have the whole shebang done in Latin. Nothing would be lost. But what could the young man do? The marchers and the sloganeers and, yes, admit it, the violent militants are the ones who have kept the nation from accepting the war. If the established political mechanisms are a better answer, the established political forces had better hurry up and prove it.

PETER STEINFELS

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THE SUN NEVER SETS ON AMERICA'S EMPIRE

U.S. bases overseas

MICHAEL T. KLARE

(Editors' note: The following article was written before President Nixon ordered U.S. troops into Cambodia.)

When the United States Senate adopted an amendment to the military appropriation bill prohibiting the use of military aid funds for participation of U.S. combat troops in Laos, the Administration announced that it was in full accord with the Senate's action. Two months later, U.S. helicopters, transport planes and B-52 bombers were committed to the defense of the Plaine des Jarres.

Vietnamization? The Nixon Doctrine? Actions, not rhetoric, reveal the genuine meaning of a political policy. This is the standard we apply to other nations. When we apply it at home, the evidence indicates an expansion—rather than contraction—of U.S. military activity in Southeast Asia.

In its fiscal budget message to the Congress for 1970, the Pentagon argued that "there are no insuperable obstacles to the development of good local land forces capable of offering a credible deterrent to a Communist aggression" in Asia. However, the message continued, "it is less likely . . . that our Asian allies, except for Japan, will have the economic strength in the foreseeable future to become self-sufficient in air and naval forces or in logistical support." The United States, therefore, "should remain prepared to provide such support where needed" —and for this reason, it will be necessary for us to "continue some form of military presence in the region for some time, *and this must include appropriate basing arrangements.*" (Emphasis added.)

What exactly is meant by "appropriate basing arrangements?" In the 19th century, overseas bases were considered primary instruments of colonial expansion, and the great imperial powers of Europe vied with one another for possession of naval bases commanding principal trade routes and for garrisons which controlled access to inland territories. In the 20th century, airplanes became a major instrument of warfare, and air bases assumed many of the strategic characteristics that had once been the exclusive prerogative of naval stations. During the Second World War, island bases played a key role in the safeguarding of Atlantic convoys, while the war in the Pacific can be summarized as a struggle for control of strategic island-based landing fields.

In a discussion of the strategic function of overseas bases, T. B. Millar of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London explains that, "In naval or air terms, a base is normally considered to have substantial capacity to house, repair and supply ships or aircraft, and to defend itself or be defended against hostile attack." Since World War II, "The European ex-imperial powers have disposed of most of their external bases because they have disposed of the empires which they were designed to protect." The United States, which has established its hegemony in many ex-colonial areas abandoned by the European powers, has found it expedient to retain many of its overseas bases and even to acquire new "basing arrangements" in the Pacific and Indian Ocean areas. As of Sept. 7, 1969, the U.S. maintained 1,188,894 servicemen at 429 major bases abroad, of which 55 are in Korea, 3 in Taiwan, 7 in Thailand, 6 in the Philippines, 25 on other Pacific islands, at least 59 in South Vietnam, and an unspecified number in Laos. Turning Millar's observations around, we find that the United States needs its Asian bases in order to protect the empire we have acquired.

Military bases come in different varieties: logistical bases, to supply troops at the front; communications bases, to maintain contact with roving air and naval patrols; headquarters bases, to exercise "command-and-control" functions over units in the field; rear-area bases, to house supply depots, reserve troops, and repair facilities. In the past two decades, the United States has acquired hundreds of new bases in Asia, has expanded existing facilities, and is now acquiring sites for future bases. Many of these bases, of course, will be dismantled when the Vietnam conflict is terminated—but many others are permanent installations designed for service in future Asian wars.

MICHAEL T. KLARE, *a staff member of the North American Congress on Latin America, is completing a book on counterinsurgency-planning in the United States.*

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Major logistical bases, capable of handling the largest supply ships in existence, have been established on the mainland of Asia at Cam Ranh Bay in South Vietnam and at Sattahip in Thailand. While these bases are currently being used to funnel war matérial to the battlefields in Vietnam and Laos, they will retain a major strategic function—as forward staging points for large-scale military operations—long after the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam. The very *existence* of Cam Ranh Bay throws into question the basic assumptions of U.S. policy in Vietnam: if our presence there is to be a temporary affair, designed only to bolster the native military, why spend hundreds of millions of dollars on permanent facilities for a base on Vietnamese soil? Knowledgeable American journalists, including James Reston of the *New York Times,* have long been skeptical that the Pentagon has any intention of abandoning Cam Ranh Bay. As early as August, 1965, Reston wrote that

> U.S. bases and supply areas are being constructed on a scale far larger than is necessary to care for the present level of American forces . . . in fact, the U.S. base at Cam Ranh . . . is being developed into another Okinawa, not merely for the purposes of this war, but as a major power complex from which American officials hope a wider alliance of Asian nations, with the help of the U.S., will eventually be able to contain the expansion of China.

While the "expansion of China" has never been an issue in the Vietnam conflict (or, for that matter, in Laos or Thailand), U.S. unwillingness to vacate this fortified beachhead in Southeast Asia has become a major point of contention at the Paris peace talks. On December 10, 1969, Reston reported in the *Times* that it has been a "fundamental question throughout the Paris negotiations" whether the U.S. is willing to abandon Cam Ranh and "many other modern military bases" operating in South Vietnam.

The naval facilities at Cam Ranh and Sattahip are complemented by U.S. air bases at Tan Son Nhut (Saigon) in South Vietnam and U-Taphao and Khorat in Thailand. These airfields are actually giant military complexes, with adjacent supply depots, communications facilities, living quarters, etc.. Like the naval bases, these installations will continue to function as staging points for U.S. military operations after the Vietnam conflict is settled. Large quantities of war supplies will be stored here to be used by troops flown in on the C-5A jet transport in the event of a future crisis. Of the Khorat airfield, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported in July, 1969, that while nominally under Thai command, it was in fact a "huge American military dump," and that "equipment and vehicles and supplies for a large number of American troops have long been maintained here. The idea is that if ever needed in an emergency, American troops can be airlifted in and pick up their heavy equipment ahead of them at Khorat."

U.S. communications, command-and-control and intelligence bases have been established throughout Southeast Asia. The most important of these is MACV headquarters (Military Assistance Command, Vietnam) at Tan Son Nhut airport outside Saigon. From this complex of airstrips, warehouses and air-conditioned office buildings, General Creighton W. Abrams directs all U.S. military operations in South Vietnam. Tan Son Nhut is also the headquarters of the 7th U.S. Air Force and the site of the Combined Intelligence Center where, according to the *New York Times,* "day and night in its antiseptic interior a family of blinking, whirring computers devours, digests and spews out a Gargantuan diet of information about the enemy."

Other bases, not as well known as Tan Son Nhut, oversee U.S. military and paramilitary activities in North Vietnam, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. The headquarters of the Fifth Special Forces Group located in the former resort city of Nhatrang, houses the B-57 detachment of the Special Operations Group, a CIA-controlled unit that operates networks of native intelligence agents throughout Southeast Asia. The Special Forces base at Kanchanaburi in Thailand (the setting for the novel, *The Bridge Over the River Kwai),* performs similar intelligence function in that country. The U.S. air base at Udorn, also in Thailand, houses the CIA station responsible for coordination of intelligence-gathering missions along the system of roads and footpaths known to Westerners as the "Ho Chi Minh Trail." U.S. military operations in Laos are directed from a Combined Operations Center in Vientiane, and, of course, from the U.S. Embassy in that city. Closer to the fighting, a secret communications and supply base at Long Cheng, at the southern edge of the Plaine des Jarres, serves as the headquarters of the Armée Clandestine (a force of 15,000 Meo mercenaries under CIA command). While none of these makeshift bases can boast the elaborate facilities of Tan Son Nhut, they will continue to play an important role in any future conflict in which American officers command large numbers of native troops.

Hundreds, even thousands of miles from the Vietnam battlefields lie the rear-area logistical bases whose activities are essential to the prosecution of the war. These bases include the huge supply and ammunition depots in Okinawa, Japan and the Philippines; the Strategic Air Command airfields on Okinawa and Guam (which house the giant B-52 bombers used in Vietnam and Laos); and the Navy's repair and servicing facilities at Subic Bay in the Philippines. Without these strategically-located Pacific bases, the United States would be unable to mount large-scale military operations on the mainland of Asia. Our continued occupation of these bases, moreover, is considered a deterrent to any military adventures on the part of China and North Korea. It is understandable, therefore, that the Pentagon has become extremely worried about recent political developments in Japan, Okinawa and the

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Philippines which jeopardize our rights to maintain bases there.

In June, 1968, a U.S. RF-101 jet from Itazuke Air Base in southern Japan crashed into a nearby university building, injuring students and setting off violent protests against U.S. occupation of the base. The Itazuke incident, coupled with a growing sense of national pride, has prompted many influential Japanese politicians to call for a reduction in the number of U.S. bases in Japan. As a result of this pressure, the Pentagon recently agreed to transfer control of 50 bases to Japan, leaving some 125 installations in American hands. (According to one Defense official, quoted by the *New York Times,* "What we are willing to give up is only of marginal value to our military capability.") Under the terms of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (signed in 1960), the United States is empowered to utilize its Japanese bases for military activities elsewhere in Asia; since these bases would be vitally important during any future conflict in Korea, the Pentagon is loathe to abandon its remaining bases in Japan. As Japanese nationalism grows, however, the U.S. will be under increasing pressure to scale down its military establishment in that country; the impending expiration of the Security Treaty, moreover, could set off violent mass protests at U.S. bases.

Increased nationalism and anti-Americanism are also a growing phenomenon in the Philippines, where the U.S. maintains three large bases—Subic Bay, Clark Field Air Base, and Sangley Point Naval Station—and several minor ones. Sangley Point, which is clearly visible from the Manila waterfront, is a continuous reminder of the U.S. presence in the Philippines and thus has become the focal point of public resentment. Philippine nationalists have demanded that Sangley Point be converted to a civilian airport and that restrictions be placed on the use of other American bases. Upon assuming office in January, 1969, Foreign Secretary Carlos P. Romulo told reporters that his government would seek to reduce the present 25-year tenure of U.S. bases in the Philippines. While the present Administration in Manila remains friendly to the United States, growing public opposition (dramatically expressed in the recent sacking of the U.S. Embassy) could ultimately compel the U.S. to abandon its Philippine bases.

Of all U.S. Pacific bases, none is more valuable, or important strategically, than Okinawa. Whatever happens to U.S. bases in Japan and the Philippines, *U.S. News and World Report* concluded, "it will be the loss of Okinawa . . . that will be most damaging." Here are the reasons they gave:

> The U.S. has invested more than $1 billion in the postwar years on what is probably the most elaborate multi-service military installation anywhere in the world.
>
> Since the start of the Vietnam war, activity has increased tenfold. Okinawa, long the mainstay of U.S. defenses in the Western Pacific, has now become also a giant funnel through which much of the paraphernalia of war pours into South Vietnam and Southeast Asia.
>
> U.S. money and imagination have turned the island —67 miles long and from 2½ to 19 miles wide—into one vast patchwork of military posts, airfields, an Army port, training camps and housing complexes. In all, there are 117 separate military installations on the one island.

U.S. troops stationed on the island include the 3rd Marine Division (the first large American combat units to be deployed in Vietnam), the 1st Special Forces Group, and assorted logistical, communications and supply personnel. Also housed here are three bomber squadrons, whose B-52 bombers fly daily bombing missions against targets in South Vietnam.

In addition to serving as a logistics center for conventional warfare on the mainland of Asia, Okinawa constitutes the major U.S. nuclear war facility in the Far East. The 489th Tactical Missile Group in Okinawa is equipped with MACE-B nuclear missiles, and the F-105 Thunderchiefs of the 18th Tactical Fighter Wing can be armed with nuclear bombs stored on the island. Vast underground arsenals, called "igloos," are stocked with tactical nuclear warheads for emergency use in Korea and China. In addition, the Okinawan port of Naha is equipped to service the dozen nuclear-armed Polaris submarines that are believed to cruise the Pacific. The nuclear build-up on Okinawa is cited by *Le Monde* as evidence that "American strategy in Asia, with its implied pressure on Vietnam and Korea and its policy of 'containing' China, hinges on Okinawa."

Opposition to U.S. occupation of Okinawa surfaced last year as a major foreign policy dispute between Japan and the United States. Under the terms of the 1952 peace treaty with Japan, to which the island had belonged, no time limit was set on U.S. occupation of Okinawa. The resurgence of nationalism in Japan, however, has led to the demand (also voiced by the Okinawans themselves) that the U.S. recognize Japanese sovereignty over the island. The question of reversion to Japanese control had already become a major issue by last July, when the accidental leakage of lethal nerve gas on the island threatened to provoke a serious rupture in U.S.-Japanese relations. As a result of the gas incident, Premier Eisaku Sato pledged to make reversion the primary foreign policy objective of his administration. In November, after three days of talks with President Nixon in Washington, Sato secured a pledge that Okinawa would be restored to Japanese rule by 1972.

The final Nixon-Sato communiqué refers cautiously to the sensitive issue of nuclear installations. The official text notes that Sato "described in detail the particular sentiment of the Japanese people against nuclear weapons and the policy of the Japanese Government reflecting such sentiment [i.e., prohibition of nuclear weapons on Japanese territory]." In reply, "the President expressed his deep understanding and assured the Prime Minister that . . . the reversion of Okinawa would be carried out in a

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manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese Government as described by the Prime Minister." While no other details were revealed on the nuclear issue, it was agreed that reversion of the island would not jeopardize supply operations for the Vietnam war. Thus while Okinawa will continue to serve as a major logistics base for U.S. forces, it will probably lose its strategic function as a nuclear arsenal.

As soon as it became apparent to U.S. military planners that the status of our bases on Okinawa might be altered, the Pentagon ordered studies of potential fallback positions. From available information, it appears that the location presently favored by the Pentagon for such purposes is the Mariana islands in the South Pacific. The Marianas—Guam, Saipan, Tinian and Rota—are part of the 2,000 islands of Micronesia held by the U.S. under a United Nations trusteeship. Unlike all other U.N. trusteeships, the Micronesia agreement permits the U.S. to construct military bases there at its own discretion. In the past three years, several high Pentagon officials have made secret trips to the Marianas to determine their suitability for new strategic bases. Recent visitors to the island, including Admiral U.S. Grant Sharp, former Pacific commander, and Lt. Gen. Lewis W. Walt, assistant Marine Commandant, reportedly examined "an extensive collection of maps showing the prime locations for airfields, naval bases and missile sites." Apparently these visitors liked what they found, for *U.S. News and World Report* indicated in 1967 that if the U.S. were forced to find a new location for its Okinawa facilities, "The preference of top military planners is already known. There will be a withdrawal to the Mariana Islands, if present planning is approved." In addition to a "complex of troop-staging and logistics bases for conventional wars in Asia," the islands would be used for missile sites and submarine berths.

The selection of Micronesia as a fallback position for relocated bases would of course be consistent with the southward thrust of U.S. expansion in the Pacific, and would satisfy the Pentagon's logistical requirements for future military operations in East Asia. America's expanding interests in the Indian Ocean area, however, are not presently protected by any installations comparable to U.S. Pacific bases. The Defense Department has therefore undertaken a quiet search for new bases that could ultimately be used to sustain large-scale military operations in this area.

The first requirement for expanded military activity in the Indian Ocean was a communications facility to serve U.S. naval vessels. In order to satisfy this need, the U.S. was able to exploit the extremely close relations it enjoys with Australia. The present government in Canberra, which has linked the security of Australia to a continued U.S. military presence in Asia, has given the United States *carte blanche* to establish bases on Australian territory. One of the products of this unusual offer is the U.S. Naval Communications Station Harold E. Holt, named for the late Prime Minister, now nearing completion at North West Cape, Australia. The new base will house very-low-frequency transmitters (for communicating with submerged Polaris submarines) as well as standard radios. A second communications facility has been established on the other side of the Indian Ocean at Asmara, Ethiopia.

The most pressing need at the present time, in the view of Defense planners, is a repair and supply base in or near the Indian Ocean like those in the Philippines, Japan and Okinawa. The Navy would like to gain access to the Union of South Africa's Simonstown naval base for this purpose, but present diplomatic sanctions preclude this solution. Another possible site for such facilities is the Chagos Archipelago, a group of small islands incorporated into the British Indian Ocean Territory. In a little-known agreement, signed April 1, 1967, the United States obtained the right to construct military installations on these islands. No overt move has been made as yet to fortify these islands, however, since the Pentagon apparently hopes to acquire a base with ready-made facilities. The most likely choice for such a move is Singapore, where the elaborate British air and naval bases will soon go up for sale.

Soon after Britain announced that it would withdraw all its forces east of the Mediterranean by 1971, the United States expressed an interest in acquiring the Singapore bases. A 1969 *New York Times* dispatch from Singapore indicated that "The United States Navy is quietly seeking a formula for the use of the well-equipped British naval base here for repairs and maintenance." The *Times* also reported that "United States warships call regularly at Singapore and admirals frequently tour the British installations." Among the visitors was Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., commander of American forces in the Pacific. The admirals must have been satisfied with what they saw, for on January 9 Vice President Agnew, then on a tour of our Asian allies, told reporters in Singapore that the U.S. would enter into a "definite relationship" with the island-state for use of the bases. Such an arrangement, according to the Vice President's aides, would consist of contracts for repairs on U.S. ships and planes at the bases Britain will vacate.

The Pentagon is apparently very apprehensive that premature publicity of the impending agreement with Singapore would cause an adverse reaction at home. One reporter who accompanied the Vice President on his Asian tour observed that "Congressional and public disaffection with United States military involvements overseas has reportedly forced the United States Department of Defense to move quietly in any negotiations with Singapore." In order to preclude domestic opposition, the Pentagon has encouraged the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation to bargain on its behalf. Lockheed—for all practical purposes a bankrupt organization—announced December 1, 1969 that it had reached an agreement with the Singa-

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pore Government to establish a major aircraft repair and maintenance facility on the island. The California-based firm will eventually take over the magnificently-equipped Royal British Air Force base at Changi, on the eastern end of the island, with the expectation of getting substantial Pentagon contracts for servicing of U.S. aircraft stationed in Asia. Since Lockheed recently petitioned the Defense Department for an immediate $655 million subsidy to avert collapse, Pentagon journalists are quite reasonably skeptical that the company could guarantee the $4 million down payment on the Singapore base from its own cash resources. Indeed, *Armed Forces Journal* reported from Washington that "one speculation advanced here is that, conceivably, Lockheed may be acting as a conduit to set up a nominally private U.S. military aircraft overhaul facility in neutral Singapore. . . . Under this theory, U.S. Government funds might, in some bookkeeping legerdemain, be channeled via Lockheed as a cover activity." If Lockheed's plans are carried out, it will represent a unique instance of a private company's negotiating the sovereign interests of the U.S. Government.

United States policy in Asia—so the Administration has informed us—calls for the gradual reduction of U.S. military strength in the area. Since its announcement last summer, however, many journalists and Senators have questioned whether this policy, the so-called "Nixon Doctrine," has any substance to it at all. The growing U.S. involvement in Indochina indicates that no change in U.S. policy has occurred in the short run, while the information presented here on the expansion of U.S. "basing arrangements" in Asia demonstrates that no changes are likely in the long-run, either.

STATE $ FOR SCHOOLS

Constitutional issue

JOSEPH DUERR

Step by step the judiciary, under the direction and reasoning of the nation's highest tribunal, has woven into the meaning of the First Amendment the right of states to give financial aid to church-related and other private schools. First came the United States Supreme Court's endorsement of state's supplying free bus transportation to students in parochial schools. Then, two years ago, the high court took another step—perhaps the biggest one so far—in holding that New York State did not violate the establishment of religion clause of the First Amendment by lending textbooks free of charge to students in church-related and other private schools. Now, with the financial crisis in private education becoming more imminent, courts are confronted with the constitutional issue of applying these precedents to a new form of state aid that is designed to tackle the largest single cost item in the operation of religious-affiliated elementary and secondary schools—lay teacher salaries.

Already some states—including Pennsylvania, Ohio, Rhode Island and Connecticut—have enacted such legislation providing for state salary supplements to teachers in private schools. Similar wage subsidy bills were introduced this year in the Kentucky General Assembly but died in the House and Senate Education Committees.

Under the salary subsidy plans (also known as "purchased services" or "purchase of service"), private school teachers are reimbursed by the state for teaching "secular" subjects. Some laws specify the particular subjects to be subsidized (for example, mathematics, modern foreign languages, physical science and physical education in Pennsylvania), and other statutes say that only lay teachers can qualify. Whatever the arrangement the state pays for part of the instructional costs in sectarian schools.

As might be expected, this new form of state aid has been challenged in the courts and questioned in state legislatures as violating the constitutional separation between church and state. In the case of Pennsylvania's law, a Federal District Court ruled the law constitutional in December, 1969. But when similar proposed legislation in Maine was presented to the state's supreme court for an advisory opinion, four of the six judges voting said it was unconstitutional.

Now this concept of state aid is in the hands of the U.S. Supreme Court, which has agreed to decide if individual taxpayers and organizations have standing in court to challenge the constitutionality of the Pennsylvania law. Pending this decision—which could wind up supplying a federal constitutional standard for private school teacher subsidies—lower courts will have to go on what constitutional law is now available. And what is available would indicate that this new approach to aiding private schools agrees in principle with what the U.S. Supreme Court has said in previous school-aid cases.

The 1947 *Everson* case—although decided by a 5-4 vote—set the wheels in motion. The Supreme Court up-

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held a New Jersey law authorizing free bus transportation for parochial school students on the grounds that it provided for the safety and welfare of the children from the hazards of highway and street traffic.

But it was in 1968—in the case of *Board of Education v. Allen*—that the high court opened the door wider. The court not only approved of a New York law supplying state-financed textbooks to private school students but also underscored in its reasoning that church-related schools perform both "secular" and "religious" functions and said the state could legally aid the "secular" part without violating the First Amendment. Only two of the nine justices disagreed with the decision.

The Supreme Court said, first, that an aid law must have a purpose and primary effect that are "secular" in nature. Since the expressed legislative purpose of the New York law was the furtherance of educational opportunities for all children, the court said, and since the primary effect was to benefit the children and parents and not the schools, the textbook law met this constitutional test.

Then the majority opinion went on to say what was perhaps the most significant part of the decision: that religious-affiliated schools have both "secular" and "religious" purposes and "if the State must satisfy its interest in secular education through the instrument of private schools, it has a proper interest in the manner in which these schools perform their secular educational function."

In response to the contention that aiding the "secular" phase of these schools is tantamount to aiding the "religious" part, too, the court reasoned: "We cannot agree . . . that all teaching in a sectarian school is religious or that the processes of secular and religious training are so intertwined that secular textbooks furnished to students by the public are in fact instrumental in the teaching of religion."

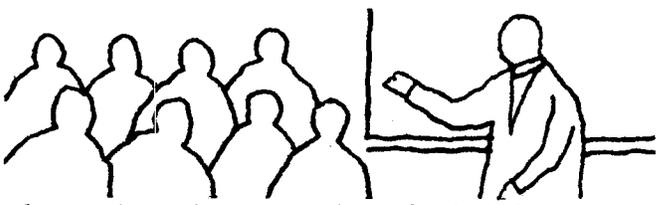
Applying Similar Logic

Could not the same logic be applied to state aid that allows the state to pay the salaries of private school teachers for teaching "secular" subjects like mathematics and science? Apparently so, because a Pennsylvania Federal District Court made this very deduction when it upheld in a 2-1 decision the legality of the Pennsylvania teacher subsidy law last December.

The District Court, in *Lemon v. Kurtzman,* said the purpose of the statute was "secular"—the purpose being defined by the Pennsylvania legislature to "promote the welfare of the people" and "to promote the secular education" of children in private schools. The primary effect of the law was also "secular," the court said, since the state was simply using the "secular" purposes of church-related schools to satisfy educational pursuits in Pennsylvania.

As the majority opinion explained: "Neither the primary nor the necessary operative effect of the statute advances religion. It is quite unlike the situation where state tax-supported public school buildings, facilities and teachers are used as a forum and means for the dissemination of religious doctrines at times and on occasions when pupils are subject to the state's compulsory attendance laws. . . . The statute is limited not only to secular subjects but to a limited number of specific secular subjects peculiarly unconnected with and unrelated to the teaching of religious doctrines."

The District Court went on to add that it was ir-



relevant that private, sectarian schools indirectly benefited as a result of such aid. What counts, the court said, is that the purpose and primary effect of the law are "secular in nature" and such "an incidental benefit" to sectarian schools is not sufficient to violate the establishment of religion prohibition of the First Amendment.

While the court did leave some questions unanswered (such as what subjects in sectarian schools are "peculiarly unconnected with and unrelated" to the teaching of religion), it did endorse the concept of states' aiding private school teachers. And it did so not by initiating its own constitutional rules but by extending the rationale used by the Supreme Court in the Allen case to a different form of state aid.

While the Pennsylvania District Court decision is the highest judicial voice to speak on the teacher subsidy question up to now, some Federal and state judges do not think the logic in the Allen case necessarily applies to teacher salary supplements. One is Judge William H. Hastie, who dissented in the Pennsylvania decision.

Hastie argued that the purpose and primary effect of the Pennsylvania law were not "secular" since the primary purpose of sectarian schools is religious, and the total educational program in these schools is actually designed to advance religion. "Through a total educational program offered in a separate religious environment, sectarian schools serve to inculcate and reinforce in children doctrine and moral precepts derived from the tenets of the church," he said.

And Hastie added: "The crucial consideration is that the total teaching program (of sectarian schools) is offered in a separate religious environment and for the better achievement of appropriate religious objectives. When the state reimburses a sectarian school for any part of the curricular costs of such a teaching program it directly finances and supports a religious enterprise. Constitutionally, such subsidizing of a religious enterprise is not essentially different from a payment of public funds into the treasury of a church."

Viewed from another perspective, Hastie said, if the

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teacher subsidy law is legal, "I see no escape from the evils that attend a widespread and pervasive intermingling of politics and religion." And he added, "I cannot square such state intrusion into religion affairs with the concept of separation of church and state which the First Amendment implements."

Hastie's reasoning formed the crux of the majority opinion that was expressed by the Maine Supreme Court in an advisory opinion in January concerning the constitutionality of similar proposed legislation in that state. Judge Harold C. Marden, speaking for the majority, said:

"Sectarian school education is selected for its religious atmosphere and teaching. Budgets of the secular instruction may be technically separable from the budget of the entire operation of the school, but the institution is an inseparable whole, which is strengthened in its institutional purpose when it is strengthened in any of its departments by outside financial assistance."

Judge Donald W. Webber, who concurred in the Maine advisory opinion, said the legislative proposal "will be viewed as in reality a method for providing public aid to a sectarian school in support of all of it purposes." The two judges who dissented in the 4-2 opinion essentially followed the reasoning of the majority opinion in the Pennsylvania case.

When the U.S. Supreme Court decides this question it will undoubtedly have to wrestle with the opinions that have been presented in these Federal and state courts. But, first, the high court will have to reconsider its own Allen case with a new set of circumstances—for it was here that the basic constitutional arguments were constructed. So the court may end up wrestling with its own logic—a not too uncommon situation in light of other modern constitutional issues.

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with his parents to celebrate Passover in Jerusalem. His dialogue with the Elders in the Temple has special relevance for our time. 7-12.

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From "The Shy Little Girl" (Houghton-Mifflin)

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The Cats Go to Market. By Joan Cass. Ill. by William Stobbs. Abelard. $3.75.

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escaped slaves along the Underground Railway. 5-8.

Two Piano Tuners. Written and Ill. by M. B. Goffstein. Farrar. $3.50.

"What could be better than doing something you love" is the theme of this gentle, deceptively simple story of a little girl who longs to be a piano tuner like her kindly grandfather, with whom she lives, although he has dreams of her becoming a great concert artist. 5-9.

Little Richard. By Patricia M. Scarry. Ill. by Cyndy Czekeres. American Heritage. $3.95.

"Mother's Helper," "The Big Hike" etc.—these nine homey stories with endearing color pictures of a little rabbit make perfect bedtime reading. 5-9.

Your Hand in Mine. By Sam Cornish. Ill. by Carl Owens. Harcourt. $3.25.

A shy black boy who spends much of his time alone, and makes up poems for company, finds "Friendship—your hand in mine" one day at school. The sensitive, discerning writing and the realistic inner city background combine to make this a book of enduring value. 6-9.

Patsy-O and His Wonderful Pets. By Bryan McMahon. Ill. by Imero Gobbato. Dutton. $3.95.

The lilting story of an Irish boy who goes off to seek his fortune and how his pets help him return safely to his widowed Mother at Christmas time. Nice big type and strong, gay drawings. 6-10.

The Hotel Cat. Written and Ill. by Esther Averill. Harper. $3.50.

I am such a Jenny Linsky fan that I named my own cat after her, and I am sure that children everywhere will be as pleased as I am to meet Tom, the conscientious new hotel cat and to see him welcomed by Jenny into the Cat Club. 6-10.

The Baseball Bargain. By Scott Corbett. Ill. by Wallace Tripp. Atlantic/Little. $3.95.

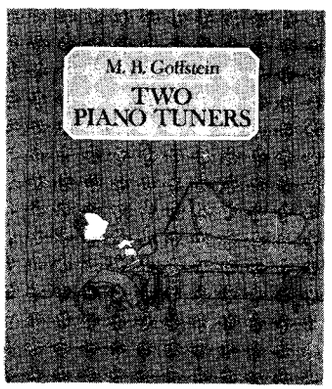
Woody longs more than anything else to be on Leo's baseball team, but the price is shoplifting a baseball glove for Leo. Scott Corbett knows boys, their language, and their predicaments, and he writes with humor, verve, and understanding. 7-11.

Runaway Ralph. By Beverly Cleary. Ill. by Louis Darling. Morrow. $3.95.

An intrepid little mouse named Ralph runs away from home on his motorcycle and finds unexpected hazards at a children's camp. A highly successful combination of humor, fantasy, and everyday adventure by a master storyteller. 7-11.

A Guy Can Go Wrong. By Barbara Rinkoff. Ill. by Harold James. Crown. $3.95.

A hostile Puerto Rican boy, resentful of favors and fearful he'll be snubbed when he spends a vacation with a suburban family, finds he has as much to give as to receive. Boys will like the outdoor fun and fast paced writing. 8-11.



From "Two Piano Tuners" (Farrar, Straus)

Alvin Fernald, Mayor for a Day. By Clifford B. Hicks. Ill. by Bill Sokol. Holt. $3.95.

It will be difficult to get your son, or daughter, to put out his light once he starts on this hilarious, suspense-filled story of an ingenious schoolboy, mayor for a day, and his schoolmate assistants as they reform the city—and foil a villain! 8-11.

Maple Street. By Nan Hayden Agle. Ill. by Leonora E. Prince. Seabury. $4.50.

When a poor Southern white family moves into a Negro section in Baltimore, tension results but also new understanding as two girls overcome their prejudices and become friends. A warm story of neighborliness and community involvement in a new mini park. Good drawings. 8-11.

Folk and Fairy Tales

A Story, A Story. Retold and Ill. by Gail A. Haley. Atheneum. $5.95.

The magnificent, big woodcut illustrations in rich bold colors and the poetic text, distilled so that every word sings with meaning, combine to make a truly distinguished version of an ancient African tale. 4-8.

Happy Go Lucky. Written and Ill. by William Wiesner. Seabury. $4.50.

A happy-go-lucky farmer goes to market to sell his cow but despite a series of misadventures returns home successful. The gay illustrations for this Norwegian folktale dance across the pages in clear country colors with peasant patterns. 4-8.

A Special Trick. Written and Ill. by Mercer Mayer. Dial. $4.50.

"Be very careful not to touch anything," the magician told his new young assistant, but he does and all sorts of fabulous and fearsome things happen. Glowing color and intriguing detail in the Renaissance-like paintings. 5-9.

The Resident Witch. By Marian T. Place. Ill. by Marilyn Miller. Washburn. $3.50.

Girls—and boys too—will love this story of young Witcheena who longs to fly up to Junior Witch. Her adventures at an amusement park help her find a unique job just for her. 7-11.

Mooncoin Castle. Written and Ill. by Brinton Turkle. Viking. $3.95.

A jackdaw, a ghost, and a witch join forces to prevent an Irish castle from being demolished to make way for a supermarket. A highly original, witty and winning fantasy with all sorts of surprises, including a rock group that sings "Woe! Woe! Woe!" 8-12.

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STORIES FOR AGES 9-13

Hail Columbia. By Patricia Beatty. Ill. by Liz Dauber. Morrow. $4.95.

Girls interested in the Women's Liberation Movement will take Louisa Baines' irrepressible Aunt Columbia to their hearts, even as Louisa did when the suffragette aunt visits her brother's sedate Oregon family in 1893. A book bubbling with humor, as well as a good period piece—Patricia Beatty's best!

A Horse Came Running. By Meindert De Jong. Ill. by Paul Sagssoorian. Macmillan. $4.95.

A boy, his two beloved horses (whom he fears he may lose), and an old neighbor, together face the havoc surrounding them after a tornado twists through their farms. Sentimental perhaps but children enjoy sentiment, and even I cried happily during the last chapters.

Grover. By Vera and Bill Cleaver. Lippincott. $3.50.

A sensitive, boyish boy struggles to adjust to life upon the death of his Mother. A fine picture of a small town as well as a moving family story with humor to leaven the sorrow.

The Daybreakers. By Jane Louise Curry. Ill. by Charles Robinson. Harcourt. $4.95.

Two black children and a white girl, exploring the ancient Indian mounds on a Virginia hill, stumble through an underground chamber into the past, and become involved in strange rituals and deadly peril. The life of the troubled Indians they visit has a message for the racial problems of their town of today, but it is subtly presented. A convincing and suspense-filled combination of reality and fantasy.

The Money Machine. By Keith Robertson. Ill. by George Porter. Viking. $4.95.

Two boy detectives and a girl assistant on the trail of some ingenious counterfeiters; danger, suspense, and laughter as well; a gem by a master storyteller.

Next Door. By Ruth Harnden. Ill. by Marvin Friedman. Houghton. $3.50.

A lonely teenage girl, going through the eruptions of growing up, and an older boy, on the defensive because of his mother's mental illness, help each other to face life openly and realistically. Good insight into human nature; good writing too.

On Firm Ice. By Carter Wilson. Ill. by William A. Berry. Crowell. $3.95.

A remarkable collection of tales about rivalry and cameraderie among the Eskimos of northern Canada and of the strength it takes to survive in the snow and ice.

Journey to America. By Sonia Levitin. Ill. by Charles Robinson. Atheneum. $4.25.

A Jewish girl tells the story of her family's escape from Nazi Germany

From "Amanda's Choice" (Lippincott)

and their struggles against poverty as they wait in Switzerland to join their father who has gone on ahead of them to America. This warm, moving story of kindness and courage, and family love, is the first book by a new author. One of the best books of the year, indeed of any year, I hope it will be followed by a long string of others.

TEENAGE NOVELS

Ox: The Story of a Kid at the Top. By John Ney. Little Brown. $4.95.

A sophisticated, social satire, part spoof, part tragedy, about a lonely millionaire's son in Palm Beach and the lost week he takes with his father.

The Guardians. By John Christopher. Macmillan. $4.50.

What price Utopia? A gripping, swift-paced novel of the future in which England is divided between two planned communities, one mechanized, one pastoral. Two young rebels come to realize what corruption and regimentation are lulling humanity and begin an underground revolt.

The Summer of the Swans. By Betsy Byars. Ill. by Ted CoConis. Viking. $3.95.

A fourteen-year-old girl, at odds with herself and her family, suddenly breaks through the clouds of adolescence one tragic-happy day when her retarded young brother is lost in the woods. Young readers will appreciate the author's knowing treatment of their problems and emotions, and her ear for teenage language.

The Big Hang-Up. By William E. Huntsberry. Lothrop. $3.75.

For the teenagers who took part in the tragic automobile ride after the high school dance, life was never the same again. A story of two boys who matured the hard way, with an intimate knowledge of teenage views and vocabulary.

Fireweed. By Jill Paton Walsh. Farrar. $3.95.

A teenage boy and girl make ends meet together in London during the 1940 blitz. One of the most poignant, discerning, and polished junior novels of the year.

A Herd of Deer. By Eilis Dillon. Ill. by Richard Kennedy. Funk. $4.95.

A fifteen-year-old boy camping alone by the sea in Ireland takes on an unusual job for a newcomer to the district. Excitement, good characterization, and love of the outdoors distinguish this novel of suspense which indirectly has some valuable things to say about community relationships.

Stephen's Light. By E. M. Almedingen. Holt, Rinehart. $4.95.

A distinguished medieval scholar,

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Spring Books for Young Readers

THE LIFE OF NUMBERS

By FERNANDO and MARIA DE LA LUZ KRAHN. Illustrated by FERNANDO KRAHN. "The artist and author of *The First Peko Neko Bird* have again combined their talents for the droll and the absurd in a new counting book—a book that literally lives up to its title of *The Life of Numbers* because they have brought numbers to life."—*Publishers' Weekly*. 2-color pictures.
Ages 6-10. $3.95

SNAPPING TURTLE'S ALL WRONG DAY

By PEGGY PARISH. Pictures by JOHN E. JOHNSON. All about Snapping Turtle's hilarious misadventures while trying to find a special birthday present for Mama Indian. 4-color pictures.
Ages 4-8. $3.95

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL AFRICAN HIPPOPOTAMUS RACE

By MORRIS LURIE. Illustrated by RICHARD SAWERS. "Surely one of the greatest ideas for a story . . . has the funniest pictures to arrive so far this spring . . . a hilarious picture book." —*Publishers' Weekly*. 4-color pictures.
Ages 6-10. $3.95

THE MAN WHO MADE FINE TOPS

By MARIE WINN. Pictures by JOHN E. JOHNSON. This charming story of ancient times presents the basic concept of specialization in a clear and easy manner. 2-color pictures.
Ages 4-8. $2.95

THE ORANGE SCARF

By ARTHUR GEISERT. Pictures by THOMAS DI GRAZIA. A little boy searches the deep spring snow for a newborn calf—and learns about the mystery of camouflage. 2-color pictures.
Ages 4-8. $3.95

NORMAN

Written and illustrated by MITCHELL ROSE. A fresh and funny tale about Norman the talking dog and how he copes with the ups and downs of fortune. Ages 6-10 $3.95

MISS Z, THE DARK YOUNG LADY

By ANGELA CARTER. Illustrated by EROS KEITH. An engaging fairy tale about an ingenious and self-possessed young lady. 4-color pictures. Ages 6-10. $3.95

INSIDE THE ZOO

By MORRIS WEEKS, JR. With an introduction by Frederick A. Ulmer, Jr., Curator of Mammals at the Philadelphia Zoo. A factual, behind-the-scenes account of life at the zoo showing the unique problems of curators and keepers. 22 black-and-white photographs.
Ages 8-12. $4.50

SCIENCE, ART AND VISUAL ILLUSIONS

By ROBERT FROMAN. Drawings by LASZLO KUBINYI. The author of many science books for children tells how artists and scientists have studied and used illusions, and discusses the most recent findings concerning these fascinating phenomena. 80 black-and-white photos and drawings. Bibliography and index.
Ages 12 and up. $4.50

ZEKI AND THE TALKING CAT SHUKRU

Written and illustrated by LASZLO KUBINYI. An adventurous tale about a brilliant cat and a gentle musician who undertake a dangerous mission. Ages 6-10. $3.95

BUCCANEER HARBOR:
The Fabulous History of Port Royal, Jamaica

By PETTER BRIGGS. A vivid description of England's struggle to establish a colony in the midst of hostile Spanish settlements and spirited buccaneers. Ages 12 and up. $4.95

POTS AND ROBBERS

By DORA JANE HAMBLIN. "For the reader who dotes on ancient history, archeology, or detective stories, *Pots and Robbers* is a brisk blend of all three written with panache and humor. The writing is smooth and competent, the photographs excellent."—*The Saturday Review*. 20 black-and-white photographs.
Ages 12 and up. $4.95

WINDMILL BOOKS/
SIMON AND SCHUSTER

I'M GLAD I'M A BOY!
I'M GLAD I'M A GIRL!

By WHITNEY DARROW, JR. This warmly humorous book makes everybody glad they are what they are. 2-color pictures. Ages 4-6. $2.95

DADDY LONG EARS

By ROBERT KRAUS. A funny and touching history of a rabbit who had to be both father and mother to his thirty-one children. 4-color pictures. Ages 4-6. $3.50

THE LORD'S PRAYER

Pictures by GEORGE KRAUS. Fifteen gem-like miniature paintings of Amish life illuminate a book to give, to keep, to cherish. Slipcased. 4-color pictures. All ages. $2.95

THE BAD SPELLER

By WILLIAM STEIG. Inspired misspellings and antic drawings to delight fans of CDB! 2-color pictures. All ages. $2.95

Simon and Schuster

Illustrations by John E. Johnson

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E. M. Almedingen has created a richly tapestried and beautiful story of a girl in the 1500's, jilted by her fiancé, who persuades her father to let her go into the family business rather than enter a convent. A story that indirectly says a lot about the true meaning of faith and religious devotion, as well as about fortitude and love.

The Peter Pan Bag. By Lee Kingman. Houghton. $3.75.

Mrs. Kingman has attempted a most difficult feat—to recreate the hippie world of a commune as seen through the eyes of a 17-year-old girl—but she has succeeded unusually well, and teenagers will be extremely grateful for this book which deals objectively, without undue preaching, with drugs, the whys of runways, and the need for independence and identity.

Fanny. By E. M. Almedingen. Ill. by Ian Ribbons. Farrar. $3.95.

Out of the life of her aunt, a turn of the century Russian novelist, E. M. Almedingen has woven a poignant story of a sensitive girl's growing up and of her flowering literary ambitions. A notable book to be enjoyed by teenagers and grownups alike.

Fourteen for Now. Edited by John Simon. Harper. $4.95.

An excellent collection of contemporary stories, pointing up the malaise haunting modern man, compiled by the former Drama Editor of *Commonweal.* Just the sort of thing the thoughtful, older teenager will appreciate.

Biographies

Robert F. Kennedy: Man Who Dared to Dream. By Charles P. Graves. Ill. by Victor Mays. Also Photos. Garrard. $3.00.

A simply worded, moving portrait of the young people's hero, who tried to right the wrongs of the world. Bobby's boyhood and family background, as well as his growing concern with the oppressed and peace, are stressed in this dramatic introduction to his life. 7-11.

Malcolm X. By Arnold Adoff. Ill. by John Wilson. *Charles Drew.* By Roland Bertol. Ill. by Jo Polseno. *Wilt Chamberlain.* By Kenneth Rudeen. Ill. by Frank Mullins. *Jim Thorpe.* By Thomas Fall. Ill. by John Gretzer. Crowell. Each $3.75.

These new Crowell biographies for beginning readers have good, easy reading type and are most attractively designed and illustrated. These first four, emphasizing the dedication and hard work necessary for black Americans to make their way should fill an immediate need. Congratulations Crowell on their fine new series! 7-10.

From "The Bad Speller" (Simon & Schuster)

Nelly Bly. Annie Sullivan. By Terry Dunnahoo. Reilly & Lee. Each $4.95.

Well researched, intimate, biographies that read like novels about two appealing women, each a pioneer in her own field. Girls 9-13 will surely enjoy them.

A Day of Pleasure. By Isaac Bashevis Singer. Photos by Roman Vishniac. Farrar. $4.50.

Memories of the author's boyhood in Warsaw; a moving and distinguished story of life in a rabbi's family. 9-15.

Carl Sandburg: Voice of the People. By Ruth Franchere. Ill. by Victor Mays. Also Photos. Garrard. $3.25.

This first full biography of Carl Sandburg for young people will fill a real need, and we are lucky it is written by a gifted, poetic writer who herself grew up on the prairie and who understands Sandburg's unique combination of melancholy and hopefulness, his warm wit, and his love of America and of song. 9-14.

Langston Hughes: Poet of His People. By Elisabeth P. Myers. Ill. by Russell Hoover. Also photos. Garrard. $3.25.

A poet who was proud of his people and who wandered across America, observing, wondering, writing. A richly detailed narrative biography full of Langston's hopefulness and humor as well as the heartaches that often came his way. 9-14.

Wind in My Hand. By Hanako Fukuda. Ill. by Lydia Cooley. Golden Gate. $4.95.

Lovely, dream-like watercolors by Lydia Cooley perfectly match the story of Issa, a famous Japanese Haiku poet of the 1700's. The excerpts from his poetry are both revealing and appealing. 10-16.

Far Voyager: The Story of James Cook. By Jean Lee Latham. Harper. $4.50.

Another fast moving, fictionalized biography from the skilled pen of a Newbery Medal winner. Cook was not only a great commander and explorer, but a man far ahead of his times in his humanitarian relations with his crew and with the natives he met around the world.

Somebody's Angel Child: The Story of Bessie Smith. By Carman Moore. Photos. Crowell. $4.50.

The generous, tempestuous Empress of the Blues in all her heartaches and glory. Not only a story of jazz at its height, but of a courageous and big-hearted black girl struggling against adversity. 12-16.

Sea and Earth: The Life of Rachel Carson. By Philip Sterling. Photos. $4.50.

How pleased Rachel Carson would have been to know we have just celebrated Earth Day. And how pleased conversation-minded young people, and aspiring writers, will be to have this excellent portrait of her life. 12-18.

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Jane Addams: Pioneer for Social Justice. By Cornelia Meigs. Photos. Little $5.95.

Jane Addams, a woman of action so ahead of her times, has much to say to young women today and Cornelia Meigs has told her story with care and affection. 12-18.

Samuel Pepys of the Navy. By Kay McKemy. Warne. $4.95.

A new writer with a great enthusiasm for history and a flair for narrative has written a biographical novel about Pepys' career in the British Navy during the difficult years of the Restoration. The pageantry of Britain during the period comes vividly to life as does Samuel Pepys himself. 13-18.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt. By Wilson Sullivan. Photos, cartoons. American Heritage. $5.95.

An excellent, candid photo-narrative depicting F.D.R. and the accomplishments and problems of his era, written with succinctness, clarity and verve. 12-adult.

THE UNITED STATES

1492: Year of Columbus. 1620: Year of the Pilgrims. 1776: Year of Independence. Written and Ill. by Genevieve Foster. Scribner's. Each $3.50.

Great events that were going on not only in America but throughout the world during these famous years. What a boon to young children to have simple versions all their own of Genevieve Foster's "horizontal histories" so popular in longer form with older readers. Many two-color illustrations. 7-11.

What a United States Senator Does. By Roy Hoopes. Photos. John Day. $5.95.

Not only a school tool, but an excellent book to take along on a trip to the nation's capitol. A photo story with really good large photos. 9-15.

The Negro Pilgrimage in America: The Coming of Age of Black Americans. By C. Eric Lincoln. Photos. Praeger. $5.95.

A rich, detailed panorama of Black American history with telling vignettes of men and women through the centuries who have contributed to our culture and to the liberation of their race. 12-18.

Black and Brave: The Black Soldier in America. By Otto Lindenmeyer. Photos. McGraw. $4.95.

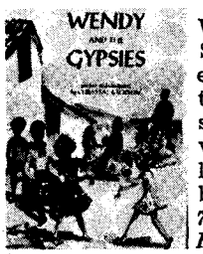
This first book in McGraw Hill's valuable new "Of Black America" series, developed from the CBS News documentary programs, traces the special contributions of Negro soldiers from Revolutionary days to 1970. 12-18.

The Extremists: Gadflies of American Society. By Jules Archer. Political cartoons and old prints. Hawthorn. $4.95.

Jules Archer reminds the reader that our nation was born in protest and that many views, considered extremist in their day, are now accepted parts of government programs. He shows the value of the "gadfly" through the years,

SPRING BOOKS FROM WARNE

WENDY AND THE GYPSIES
Chrystal Jackson



Wendy visits Spain, and has an exciting adventure with the gypsies. A story rich with the color and life of Spain. Illus. by author. *Ages 7-10 (Gr. 2-5)*
Reinforced $3.95

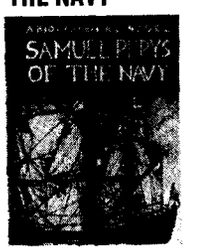
WHO ARE YOU TODAY?
Richard Shaw

Humorous rhymes tell the story of an only child who imagines himself in glamorous guises. Illus. by Kurt Werth
Ages 6-10 (Gr. 1-5)
Reinforced $2.95

ANIMAL PARTNERSHIPS
Maurice Burton

Seemingly curious relationships between very different kinds of animals described and explained.
Fully illustrated.
Ages 12-17 (HS)
Cloth $4.95

SAMUEL PEPYS OF THE NAVY
Kay McKemy



The famous diarist's amusing and exciting life story told in novelistic form. An interesting picture of Pepys' London.
Ages 12-17 (HS)
Cloth $4.95

ANIMALS AND BIRDS IN FOLKLORE
Kathleen Nixon

Legends with birds or animals as subjects, retold with humor and charm. Illus. by author. *Ages 7-10 (Gr. 2-5)*
Reinforced $3.95

ONE IS GOD
Christine Price

Religious symbols in two old songs, one British, one Hebrew, show common origin. Illus. by author
Ages 8-12 (Gr. 3-7)
Reinforced $4.95

THE OBSERVER'S BOOK OF AIRCRAFT: 1970 Edition
William Green

Details of new aircraft types and information on future designs.
Fully illustrated
HS & YA Cloth $1.95

THE OBSERVER'S BOOK OF AUTOMOBILES: 1970 Edition
The Olyslager Organization

Information about recent, current and projected models, world-wide.
Fully illustrated.
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Frederick Warne & Co., Inc.
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and urges people to distinguish between the *goals* and the *methods* of extremists. 12-18.

OTHER LANDS—PAST AND PRESENT

The Crusades. By Olivia Coolidge. Art adapted from prints by Gustave Doré. Houghton. $3.95.

The crusades through 400 years—a fascinating collection of tales of the people involved, from the humblest to the most famous leaders, giving a dramatic cross-section of the faithful and foolish who joined the amazing stream to the Holy Land. History brought vividly and discerningly to life by a scholar and artist. 11-16.

Nubia: A Drowning Land. By Margaret Drowner. Paintings by Alan Sorrell. Atheneum. $5.95.

A fascinating account of Nubian history, religion and art, and of the amazing worldwide cooperation that went into the archaeological research and rescue of art, entire temples included, before the Aswan High Dam flooded the land. 12-18.

The Mexicans: How a Vigorous People Won Back their Country from its Conquerors and Transformed it into a Modern Nation. By Harold Coy. Ill. by Francisco Mora. Little, Brown. $5.95.

This story of the people of Mexico is a triumph; history made significant and extremely engrossing. 12-17.

The Cuban Revolution. By Robert Goldstein. Ill. by Donald Carrick. Also photos. Bobbs Merrill. $5.00.

The long march of history that led to the Revolution, the people and politics that produced it, and an assessment of the results, including a frank account of America's involvement. Another detailed, dispassionate volume in Goldstein's series on 20th century wars. 12-18.

We the Burmese. Edited by Helen Trager. Photos. Praeger. $6.95.

Stories, poems, speeches, essays; one after another the "voices" of Burma speak telling us about their country and the Burmese way of life. This valuable, intimate view of Burma is to be followed by other "Voices from the Nations." 12-18.

My Japan: 1930-1951. By Hiroko Nakamoto. As told to Mildred Mastin Pace. McGraw-Hill. $4.95.

Hiroko Nakamoto grew up in Hiroshima and was 15 when the city was bombed. These poignant memoirs tell of her youth, her amazingly unembittered convalescence after being badly burned, and her quest for an education which led her to America. A portrait of a valiant young lady as well as of Japan. 11-16.

Return to Hiroshima. By Betty Jean Lifton. Photos by Eikoh Hosoe. Atheneum. $5.95.

To me this is the most important and unforgettable book of the season. The haunting and wonderful photography, the beautiful design of the pages themselves, and the poetic, dispassionate,

From "Maple Street" (Seabury)

but often heartbreaking text, tell how the fantastic flash of the atomic bomb changed the life of Hiroshima (and the world) forever, and of the courageous readjustments the survivors made, and are still making. If people all over the world would read this book and "return to Hiroshima" with the author and photographer, then I believe there would be hope of world rebirth and peace. 12-adult.

NATURE AND SCIENCE

Where do Bears Sleep. By Barbara S. Hazen. Ill. by Ian E. Staunton. Addison-Wesley. $4.95.

Birds nesting, hedgehogs burrowing, bees in combs; the lovely paintings of the various animals at rest plus the brief poetic text make a very appealing, nature and good-night book, intended for ages 3-7.

Faces. By Barbara Brenner. Photos by George Ancona. Dutton. $4.95.

Outstanding, joyous photographs of children, black and white, demonstrating the uses of eyes, ears, nose and mouth, also the many ways of sensing. A superb picture book as well as an introduction to physiology. 4-8.

A Crack in the Pavement. By Ruth Howell. Photos by Arline Strong. Atheneum. $3.75.

Pigeons on windowsills, dandelions in cracks—all you need do is look and you'll find an amazing number of plants and animals growing in the city. The excited faces of the black children on a nature walk give added value to this attractive book. 5-9.

This is the Forest. By Edith Thacher Hurd. Ill. by Clement Hurd. Coward. $3.29.

The rebirth of a forest after a fire, and the insects, birds, and animals that help. Not only the story of a forest's growth but a beginning book on ecology with lovely pictures. 6-9.

Animals That Hide, Imitate and Bluff. Story and photos by Lilo Hess, Scribner's. $3.95.

Animal camouflage; superb photographs distinguish this fascinating study. 7-12.

The Beachcomber's Book. By Bernice Kohn. Ill. by Arabella Wheatley. Viking. $3.75.

Shells, glass, seaweed, driftwood, pebbles, plums—all the things you can collect along the beach, how to go about it, preserve them, cook them, and turn them into jewelry and ornaments. An attractive book for an entire family to enjoy while on summer vacation. All Ages.

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Milkweed Butterflies: Monarchs, Models, and Mimics. Written and Ill. by Hilda Simon. Vanguard. $5.95.

A large, handsome, enthusiastically written book with delicate color illustrations. Perfect to take on a summer vacation. 10-adult.

How Do They Get Rid of It? By Suzanne Hilton. Photos. Westminster. $4.95.

How trash can be reused and become treasure. Young people concerned about pollution and litter will find this just the book they've been wanting. 12-18.

Gift from the Sun: The Mastering of Energy. By Margaret Cooper. Photos and prints. Bradbury. $5.95.

How man has gradually made use of the fuels created by the sun and put them to work. A profusely illustrated and very readable history of science, ideas, and inventions. 13-16.

From Generation to Generation: The Story of Reproduction. By John Navarra, Joseph Weisberg, and Frank Mele. Photos. Natural History Press/ Doubleday. $3.95.

Reproduction in animal and man; a detailed, frank, and very tastefully presented book for sex education. 10-15.

Americans to the Moon. By Gene Gurney. Photos. Random. $3.95.

Project Apollo: the spacecraft, the men, and the missions. A thrilling account of the obstacles NASA overcame and of the two moon landings. Written by a top-notch reporter who witnessed Apollo 11's splashdown in the Pacific. A large book with many photographs. 10-17.

Poetry

Black Out Loud. Edited by Arnold Adoff. Ill. by Alvin Hollingsworth. Macmillan. $4.95.

An anthology of modern poems by Black Americans; exciting poems of love, hatred, protest, and pride. The poets, many of them young, urban, and extremely gifted, speak with immediacy to the teenagers of today. Brief biographies of the poets are also included. 10-18.

A Flock of Words. Collected and annotated by David McKay. Ill. by Margery Gill. Harcourt. $5.95.

Poems from many centuries and around the world, collected by a perceptive teacher who has shared them with his classes. A 328-page treasure trove. 12-adult.

The Marvelous Light: Poets and Poetry. Selected by Helen Plotz. Crowell. $3.95.

Poets writing about poetry—and each other. An unusual anthology that casts light not only on the process of creation but on the personality of the poets themselves. 13-adult.

Art

The Art of Japan. By Shirley Glubok. Designed by Gerald Nook. Special photos by Alfred Tamarin. Macmillan. $5.95.

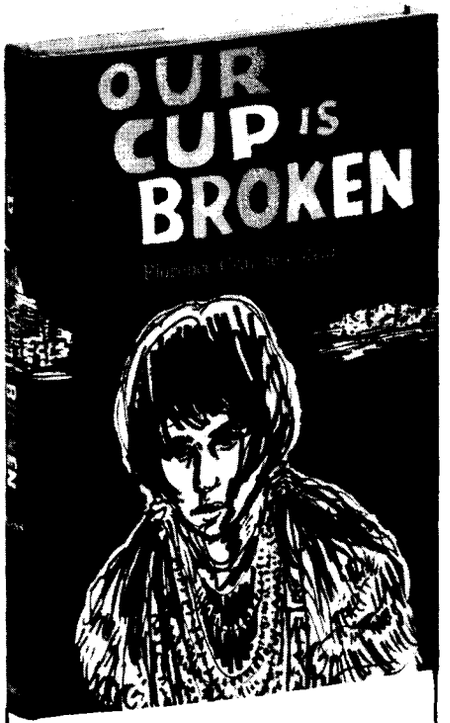
We learn a surprising amount about Japanese life, as well as Japanese art, in this exquisitely designed volume, the latest in Miss Glubok's distinguished surveys. 8-14.

Collage and Construction. Written and Ill. by Harvey Weiss. Also photos. Scott. $3.95.

The photographs of collages and constructions by great artists such as Matisse, plus examples of work done by amateurs, look such fun that one immediately wants to try. Easy-to-follow instructions and what odds and ends are available. Ingenuity is the answer. All ages.

The Old Testament in Art. By Rena N. Coen. *The New Testament in Art.* By Barbara J. Shissler. *Demons and Beasts in Art.* By Diane Williams. Black and white and color reproductions. Lerner. Each $4.50.

Bible stories brought to life by painters and sculptors through the ages. Art history and Christian history combined. 9-15.



"FLORENCE CRANNELL MEANS handles with dignity and candor such subjects as impoverished Mexicans, higher education for Negroes, and the educational obstacles for children of migrant workers."

Saturday Review

Mrs. Means has had a long and distinguished career dedicated to exploring and exposing the prejudices and inequities young people must face. Her Shuttered Windows, published in 1938, presented honestly a Negro girl's difficult adjustment to life in the South. The Moved-Outers took a hard look at the fate of a family of Japanese origin in the days following Pearl Harbor. In 1969 Our Cup Is Broken was published, a dramatic rendering of the tragedy of the modern American Indian.

Honesty and reality, the keynotes of today's writing for young people, have long been recognized by Mrs. Means and have long been the keynotes of her writing.

Children's Book Department
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
2 Park Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02107

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Shapes and People: A Book about Pictures. By Geoffrey Grigson. Vanguard. $6.95.

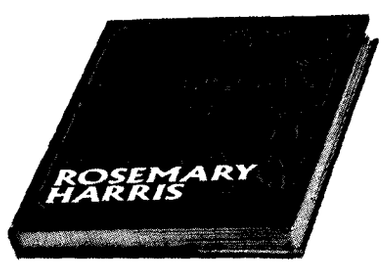
Mr. Grigson's enthusiasm for painting is highly contagious and his comments on Renaissance through 19th century Western and Asian art are most revealing. The lovely large reproductions, many in color, and all of people will appeal strongly to children as will his dramatic writing style. What the artists are trying to say, and what pictures can really mean to people. 10-16.

17th & 18th Century Art. By Adriane Ruskin. *20th Century Art.* By Michael Batterberry. McGraw Hill. Each $8.95.

Each of these large volumes has 180 pages of beautifully reproduced (full color) paintings, plus some pictures of sculpture too. The text makes a fine introduction to the history of art. 12-adult.

Science, Art, and Visual Illusions. By Robert Froman. Ill. by Laslio Kubinyi. Simon & Schuster. $4.50.

"A small classic"*



1969 Carnegie Medal, 1970 *Book World* Honor Book. "Old Kingdom Egyptian myth ... interwoven with Biblical episodes in an original, imaginative story about Noah's Ark."—*The Booklist* (suggested for the small library). "A marvelous balance of humor, reverence and compassion."—*Library Journal* (starred review).*
Ages 12 up $4.95

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A fascinating book that will give readers a greater appreciation of art and artists' skills as well as an understanding of visual perception and the exciting possibilities of new ways of seeing. Art, math, physiology, psychology and philosophy are skillfully combined. 12-adult.

Sports and Hobbies

The Hiking-Climbing Handbook. By Curtis Casewit. Photos. Hawthorn. $4.95.

Climbing equipment, climbing techniques, and precautions to take, as well as where to hike in the U.S. Delight some camper or vacationer by giving him this handbook. 12-16.

Arthur Ashe: Tennis Champion. By Louie Robinson, Jr. Photos. Doubleday. $3.50.

An intimate, dramatic account of Arthur Ashe's rise to the top in tennis, and of the dedication and hard work that made it possible. All young people, not just tennis enthusiasts will enjoy this, it is so well written. The large type will help to encourage slower readers. 9-14.

The Complete Beginner's Guide to Water Skiing. By Al Tyll. Photos & diagrams. Doubleday. $6.95.

This clear, full, profusely illustrated guide to water skiing makes an excellent gift for a family bound for the water. Advanced trick skiing is included. 12-up.

Assignment Sports. By Robert Lipsyte. Harper. $3.95.

Baseball players, boxers, golfers, football players, Olympic athletes—topnotch human interest stories about athletes and athletic events. A book you hate to put down till the very end. 12-18.

The Moscow Circus School. Text and Photos by Leon Harris. Atheneum. $4.50.

After reading this fascinating account of the Moscow Circus School where talented youngsters study and train to become circus artists, I longed to run away and join the circus myself. Superb photographs. 8-12.

America's Horses and Ponies. Written and Illustrated by Irene Brady. Houghton. $7.95.

A big, handsome book with wonderful drawings of 50 horses and ponies. The history, characteristics, points of confirmation, and special capabilities of each breed is given. A fine gift for a horse-lover, child or adult.

Bird Feeders and Shelters You Can Make. By Ted S. Pettit. Drawings. Putnam. $3.95.

How to build bird houses and feeders, where to put them, what feed to use; an excellent, easy to follow handbook. 7-12.

Gerbils and Other Small Pets. By Dorothy E. Shuttlesworth. Photos. Dutton. $4.95.

Gerbils, hamsters, squirrels, mice, rats, guinea pigs and rabbits; the needs of each pet and how to care for them. A clearly written, enthusiastic book with good-sized type. 8-12.

Kitchen Carton Crafts. By Helen R. Sattler. Diagrams. Lothrop. $3.95.
Spoolcraft. By Arden Newsome. Ill. by Kathleen McGree. Lothrop. $4.95.

Dolls, toys, games, holiday ornaments etc. Many suggestions for rainy day craft fun. Clear, easy directions. 8-13.

Building and Operating Model Cars. By Walter A. Musciano. Photos & diagrams. Funk & Wagnalls. $4.95.

A history of the actual cars as well as directions for making models, both simple and advanced. A full and up-to-date handbook for the model maker 11-up.

Reference

Junior Thesaurus II. By W. Cabell Greet, William A. Jenkins, and Andrew Schiller. Lothrop. $5.95.

This attractively illustrated thesaurus for children 11 and up (Lothrop also

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publishes one for younger children) will help children understand words and build their vocabulary; it will also be useful to young writers trying to vary their style.

Dictionary of Basic Words. Edited by D. A. Perry. Children's Press. $19.95.

The sample sentences help make the clearly worded definitions immediately meaningful to young children. Words used in math, science, and social studies are included as well as basic vocabulary. Many color illustrations. 6-12.

Get Ready! Get Set! Go! A Young Travelers Guide to Europe. By Stan Raiff. Doubleday. $6.95.

Lively background stories about each country of Europe, highlighting people who have contributed to their culture, enhance this guide to European travel. Sights, sports, theaters, shops, museums, restaurants etc. of special appeal to young people are described. A down-to-earth, very useful guidebook. All ages.

Journey to the People. By Ann Nolan Clark. Viking. $4.50.

Ann Nolan Clark, beloved storyteller and winner of the Regina and Newbery Medals, tells of her lifelong involvement teaching Indian children in the United States and Central and South America, and of the bridges she helped create between cultures through her work and her writing. Of great interest to teachers and librarians and to young adults too.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 235)

to the *Post*—are particularly disturbing. One is the complicity ("technical assistance") of the U.S. Department of Justice which responded to a call from the all-white Mississippi Commission on Law Enforcement for aid in coordinating the raid.

The second is the total failure of this country's media news services to pick up the story. The *Post* report begins "Nine days ago . . .," but at least that paper reported it.

How can federally assisted mass arrests of black students go unreported nationally? TERENCE CROWLEY

Wrong Bishop

Albany, N.Y.

To the Editors: For weal or woe, I have not been known to be a supporter of the status quo in either the society of the church or the state. At the same time I have been an admirer of *Commonweal* for some 16 years.

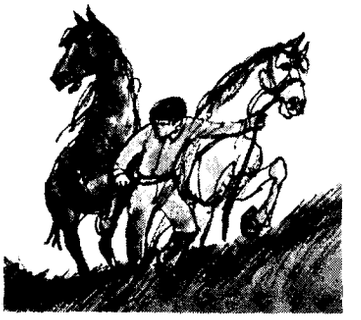
With that background I am compelled to request a correction. In your News & Views [May 1], you have rendered a disservice to the bishop and church at Albany.

Bishop Broderick was not present on the Capitol steps praying the rosary with 12 priests, at any time during the debate over abortion in the Legislature. His creative and constructive first year as ordinary should not be marred by such a mistake in reporting. I believe the auxiliary bishop was involved in such a form of prayer, but again, I am skeptical about the company of 12 priests! MSGR. JOHN DWYER KIRWIN
Rector
Immaculate Conception Cathedral

Albany, N.Y.

To the Editors: I had been meaning to write to you and congratulate you for your excellent editorial on the abortion question [April 24], better I thought than Father Drinan's article [April 17]. Today came your May 1 issue with its "News and Views" on the anti-abortion lobby. No congratulations for that one! It seemed in very poor taste as well as being inaccurate. Bishop Broderick was not on the Capitol steps nor were 12 priests. I happen to have been there to join in a demonstration suggested by a Catholic lay-woman; we were there as women who respected life, born or unborn. As the black friend with me said to the reporter, "I'm here because I am the last of 12 children and I'm glad to be alive." A few mistaken women and two seminarians made a Catholic issue out of what was not one by saying the rosary. A few of the honorable senators also said they would not impose their Catholic theology on others. The Bishops more intelligently quoted from the charter of human rights of the United Nations. If you are going to mention pressure used ineptly by individual clergy, why not mention the pressure exercised by a rabbinate student son of Assemblyman Michaels? The latter gave in to him and voted for the bill "to get peace at home" despite his fears, not of his conscience, apparently from his words, but of his Catholic constituents. To quote Mary Ann Krupsak about "political propagandizing" is to make one laugh. Did you read her would-be reasons for switching back and forth on the bill? Bishop Broderick's TV remark the night Rockefeller so hastily signed the bill, "The laws of N.Y. state cannot change the law of God," could scarcely be called a tactful bid for parochial school aid. The aid given is as much a token bid for Catholic votes as the suggested repeal of Blaine . . . SISTER HELEN BURKE

MEINDERT DeJONG
A Horse Came Running



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Soon she and her brothers and sisters will have shoes to wear to school.

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